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Source materials of Florida
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SOURCE MATERIALS OF FLORIDA HISTORY
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by LAWRENCE C. WROTH, librarian

[In his search for the rarest of historical material on colonial Florida, the historian will find in the John Carter Brown Library a good part of all that is available anywhere. There an extraordinary collection of source materials on the history of North, South, and Central America of the period before 1801 has been brought together for the use of scholars. More than four hundred titles, many of the utmost rarity and some unique, have been listed in that library for the Union Catalog of Floridiana.* The most important of these have been selected and are described here by Dr. Wroth against a background of Florida's changing sovereignty. This contribution of a scholar for scholars is of permanent value to Florida historians.—*Ed.*]

A library formed with the historian's needs in view must regard any particular section of a country in relationship to the whole. For nearly three hundred years Florida was the common frontier of three great European empires, the focal point of those historic destinies which, in their development, brought into being the new political entity we know today as the United States of America. Hence, Florida has always had a place of especial significance in the John Carter Brown Library; and it hardly need be said that our Florida materials are interrelated with the sources that concern New Spain and the Spanish Southwest of the United States as well as with those that pertain to the colonies of the French in Louisiana and the English in Georgia and Carolina. The geographical scope of our discussion, therefore, is seen to be extensive; when we speak in this article of

* The Union Catalog of Floridiana, established at Rollins College by Professor A. J. Hanna, has been described from time to time in this *Quarterly*. The list mentioned above was compiled through the interest of Henry Dexter Sharpe Esq. of Providence, Rhode Island.

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Florida we mean that land area which extends northward from the Keys to the Chesapeake and westward from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, in brief, the southeastern quarter of the United States. That, after all, is a modest delimitation; the Spanish chroniclers thought of Florida as comprising all North America north of the Gulf of Mexico, though in later years they excepted from this broad definition the provinces of New Mexico and California.

Early Geographical Notions

One of the disadvantages arising from the increase of scholarly activity is the progressive growth in the destruction of illusions, comfortable beliefs of a picturesque character that do no harm to those who hold them and frequently provide a pleasant field for the range of the imagination. If the truth makes us free it also provides irksome restrictions to our thinking. It has always been a satisfactory belief that before Juan Ponce de León made his discovery of Florida in 1513, certain anonymous, and therefore romantic, mariners had located the Floridian peninsula and given names to many of its geographical features. Support of this belief was found in the appearance of an ill-defined land area to the north of Cuba on the manuscript charts of Cantino and Canerio, of the years 1502 and 1504, and on the great printed Waldseemüller world map of 1507. But the thesis has been stated, and defended with learning, that this presumptive Florida was not a concept based upon the explorations of anonymous navigators, but simply a guess at the shape and features of what the mapmakers believed to be the nearest coast of Asia. There may have existed in their time knowledge of continental land to the north of Cuba, but the area displayed in that position on

the maps of Cantino, Canerio, and Waldseemüller must not be taken, we are warned, as a graphic expression of such knowledge. Here is the material of controversy. One may ignore the controversy, but it is impossible to ignore the material. Because argument exists at all as to whether the land shown on these maps was the earliest depiction of an entirely new world or whether it was meant to be Cathay, the maps themselves remain important exhibits, elements to be numbered among the sources of Florida history.

These primary sources are to be found in good number in the John Carter Brown Library, where, in addition to the E. L. Stevenson facsimiles of the Cantino and Canerio charts and Father Fischer's reproduction of the Waldseemüller map, are preserved several original cartographical pieces that, for reasons given, belong in the Florida bibliography. The Ruysch world map in the Ptolemy of Rome, 1508, is the earliest of these. The so-called Admiral's Map in the Ptolemy of 1513 is another of significance, but from considerations of rarity and specific interest, the most important elements of this group of original sources in the Library are the maps of the hemispheres in Stobnicza's *Introductio in Ptholomei Cosmographiam*, of Cracow, 1512. The Stobnicza hemispheres were reprinted—plagiarized, if you like—from the Waldseemüller world map of 1507, in which they are found conspicuously displayed as insets. Our copy of the single map sheet containing them is one of three known to be in existence and the only one preserved in an American library. One of these maps portrays a land area that can be nothing else but North and South America. In that delineation the continents are clearly seen to be joined by an isthmus and separated from Asia by an ocean in which lies a large island designated "Zeponu insula", by which

we understand Japan. Coming back to our specific interest, we find that there is delineated on this map plainly, if crudely, the entire Gulf of Mexico area, including, at its northeastern extremity, a point of land in the general position of the Floridian peninsula. First published as part of a huge and expensive wall map of restricted circulation, republished five years later in a form that made possible a wide distribution of its concepts, this Waldseemüller-Stobnicza map carried to European scholars definite ideas of the shape of the New World.

There is evidence that the cartographical notions published in the maps we have been talking about were not lacking in influence upon contemporary thought. The Library possesses, for example, a manuscript version of the *De Geographia* of Henricus Glareanus, printed in 1527, but compiled, probably, in the decade 1510-1520. Unlike the printed work, the manuscript is helpfully illustrated. In it are five beautifully drawn and colored maps based upon the concepts of Waldseemüller and Ruysch. The map, illustrating the "Nova terre descriptio" in Gregory Reisch's *Margarita Philosophica*, of 1515, and the map in the Solinus of 1520, the *Tipus Orbis universalis iuxta Ptolomei Cosmographi traditionem*, prepared by Peter Apian, also show the influence of the Waldseemüller concept. If the Florida delineated on these several cartographical productions is either a guess or a misapprehension, most of us would be happy to guess or misapprehend with the amazing degree of exactitude they attain.

An interesting early document in the history of Floridian discovery and exploration is found in the form of the map accompanying some copies of Peter Martyr's *Legatio babylonica Oceani decas* of 1511, for in that map appears to the north of

Cuba a land area named "isla de beimeni parte". Harrisse supposed on good grounds that the leaves containing this map were added to the book, probably not later than 1512 and before the Ponce de León expedition. In addition to its general cartographical interest, the Peter Martyr map has significance in the present association because it puts into print for the first time the word "Bimini", that semi-mythical name which appears so frequently and in such important connotation in the Ponce de León documents and story. Printed on the back of the map is an address to Cardinal Ximénez in which Peter Martyr refers to the marvellous lands found to the north of Cuba which are shown in that position on his map. Again in his *Decades* of 1516, Peter Martyr refers to land found to the north of Hispaniola where ran the living waters of a Fountain of Youth, and in his *De nuper sub D. Carolo repertis Insulis*, of 1521, he records the fact of the Ponce de León expedition of 1513 and calls the land then discovered "Florida". These earliest references by Peter Martyr to the lands north of the Antilles are set out at length by the pioneer Henry Harrisse in his *Discovery of North America*. The Library has copies of the three Peter Martyr books just discussed; its copy of the *Decades* of 1511 is one of those which possesses the all-important map.

Because of the uncertainty of meaning involved in these several representations of land that might be regarded as Florida we turn with some relief to the *Praeclara Ferdināndi. Cortesii de Noua maris Oceani Hyspania Narratio*, of Nürnberg, 1524, that is, the first Latin edition of the second Cortés letter, written to Charles V in October, 1520. Accompanying this book is a map supposed to have been copied from an original sent by Cortés with his report of progress in Mexico. It is in reality a

plan of the Aztec capital illustrating the events of the narrative, but one section of the sheet is occupied by an inset showing the West Indies and the Gulf region. As reproduced in this Nürnberg woodcut, the inset shows a portion of the west coast of the Florida peninsula and the entire Gulf coast from that point to Yucatan. Engraved upon the peninsula are the words "La Florida", the first appearance of the name, I believe, upon a printed map.

In two of our manuscript portolan atlases are other maps of the pre-settlement period upon which Florida is found in moderately correct delineation. One of these, the celebrated Charles V atlas of Battista Agnese, dates from the period 1543-1545; the other, a counterfeit Agnese of the Gisolfo group (as classified by Henry R. Wagner in his monograph on the Agnese atlases) is probably of the year 1550 or a bit later. There is here also one of the two known copies of the woodcut map of America designed to accompany the *Summario*, of Peter Martyr and Oviedo, of 1534, and called by Harrisse and all who have followed him, the "Ramusio" map. This notable possession is based upon the two large manuscript maps, now at Weimar, of Diego Ribero and an unidentified Spanish pilot. Photographic copies of these are in the Library in the series entitled *Maps illustrating early Discovery and Exploration in America, 1502-1530*, New Brunswick, N. J., 1906, issued under the learned direction of Dr. Edward Luther Stevenson, and in colored facsimiles appended to J. G. Kohl, *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von Amerika*, Weimar, 1860. The great Ribero map was made in 1529, based, in all probability, upon the *Padron Real*, or master map of the world, kept in the Casa de Contratación at Seville. It is a splendid production of broad general interest, recording

such recent explorations as Pizarro's discovery of Peru in 1527, and it is, furthermore, a specific Florida document locating by explicit legends the explorations of Estevan Gómez, Ayllón, and Garay. The Spanish pilot's map of 1527, the earlier of these two, bears a legend in the Florida area that reads "Tierra que aora ba apoblar panfilo de narbaes", an indication that the map was made shortly before the Narváez expedition set forth in June, 1527. The Thorne map, drawn in 1527, found its way into print only with the publication of Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* in 1582. In that book also is to be found another map of Florida interest, that is, the Michael Lok map of the world, of the year 1582. Copies of the *Divers Voyages* containing both these maps are found only in the British Museum, the Huntington Library, the John Carter Brown, and the private library of James F. Bell, of Minneapolis. The map of North and South America in the *Historia general* of Francisco López de Gómara, present in our copies of the editions of Zaragoza, 1552 and 1553, is another item of historical interest in the collection from the standpoint of Florida representation.

Maps of the post-settlement period, but still of the sixteenth century, are the Boazio plan of St. Augustine in the *Expeditio Francisci Drakei*, Leyden, 1588, and the separate Boazio map, published, it may be, as early as 1586, entitled *The Famouse West Indian voyadge made by the Englishe fleete . . . in . . . 1585 . . . 1586*. The name of St. Augustine was placed upon this map for the reason that it was one of the towns that Drake destroyed in his ferocious raid upon the outlying Spanish dominions. That unhappy circumstance brought about this early appearance upon a printed general map of the name and location of the most important of the Spanish outposts in Florida. In a German edi-

tion of the Bigges narrative of Drake's expedition, published in 1589, is a map of North and South America by Franciscus Hogenberg, the skilled collaborator of Ortelius. The Florida portrayed in this map contains, east of the Rio del Spirito Santo, or Mississippi, twenty or more names of places, rivers, and capes, those in the interior being chiefly drawn from accounts of the De Soto expedition. Through these maps and others like them in the Library (I have not particularized the presence here of collections of the well-known atlases of Ptolemy and Ortelius) the student traces the growth of knowledge about that tough and ungrateful land in the very documents in which it was conveyed to Europeans of the sixteenth century.

The Early Explorations

Few of the explorations preceding the settlement period were described in contemporaneously printed, separate narratives. The voyages of Ponce de León, Hernández de Córdoba, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón, and Estevan Gómez are recounted in such general works as the Oviedo, *Historia general de las Indias*, published at Seville in 1535; the *Historia general* of López de Gómara, found here in a large number of editions including, as already mentioned, the first, of Zaragoza, 1552; the *Dos Libros de Cosmographia* of Gerónimo Girava, Milan, 1556; the *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de la Nueva España*, Madrid, 1632, of Bernal Diaz del Castillo; the *Ensayo cronologico*, Madrid, 1723, of Andrés González de Barcia; the *Historia general*, 1601-1615, of Antonio de Herrera. Though its matter is hardly pertinent to the expeditions, it should be mentioned that there is here a manuscript by Juan López de Velasco, of about the year 1575, upon the text and maps of which was based that portion of Herrera's work known as the "Descripción de las Indias".

The text of the Velasco manuscript differs in details from that of a similar codex in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid. Among its fourteen American maps, almost identically reproduced in the printed Herrera of 1601, are two of the Gulf regions bearing delineations of Florida. The text devotes two pages to a description of the country.

The momentous Narváez expedition of 1527 found its chronicler in the person of one of its officers, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, whose fate it was to survive after nine years of bare existence on the coasts, in the forests, and on the plains of what is now the far south and southwest of the United States. Grief met Narváez and his people when their land and sea forces failed to reunite, as planned, in Apalache Bay. The fleet of small boats the explorers built in this emergency was scattered by storm and Cabeza de Vaca was cast ashore on an island near what is now Galveston, Texas. He returned to civilization by way of a journey which led him in 1536 to Sinaloa, in Mexico, near the Gulf of California, having carried through, by virtue of a mighty instinct of self-preservation, the first crossing of the continent north of Mexico by a European. Various attacks have been made upon the credibility of the Cabeza de Vaca narrative. We shall not contribute to the controversy beyond saying that if he didn't do what he said he had done, he must have done something very much like it. The narrative of this extraordinary journey, first published, so far as is known, in 1542, performed one service of great significance: it united in contemporary Spanish thought the east and the west, Florida and Lower California, the Atlantic and the Pacific, and thus created a conception of the geographical scope of the coming empire. Herbert I. Priestley writes, "The excitement aroused by this cross-continental journey led to the explora-

tion by Marcos the friar of Nice, and this in turn to the attempt to conquer the famed Seven Cities of Cibola by Francisco de Coronado . . ." The second in command of the Coronado expedition was Tristán de Luna y Arellano, who was later, under royal auspices, to attempt the settlement and exploration of Florida. The adventure of Cabeza de Vaca thus is seen to have been a dynamic event in the story of Spain in the United States. And yet, because he came back naked and with empty hands, some historians have characterized his expedition as "without results".

The Library is strong in editions of the Cabeza de Vaca narrative. Of the first edition of Zamora, 1542, entered as No. 1 in Wagner's *Spanish Southwest*, three copies are known: a perfect copy in the New York Public Library; a very imperfect copy in the British Museum; and a copy with one leaf in facsimile in the John Carter Brown Library. Here also is the edition of Valladolid, 1555, the versions in Ramusio and Purchas, the reprint in González de Barcia's *Historiadores primitivos* of 1749, and the edition in English by Buckingham Smith brought out in 1871. Another edition in Spanish is found in the *Examen apologetico de la historica Narracion . . . de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Baca* by Antonio Ardoino, Madrid, 1736, a work written in reply to the strictures upon Cabeza de Vaca found in the *Nova Typis Transacta Navigatio Novi Orbis Indiae Occidentalis*, issued in 1621 by Honorius Philoponus and dedicated to Casparus Plautius. We understand the characterization of the *Nova Typis* by Henry Stevens of Vermont as "one of the impudentest books known" when we learn that Philoponus was a pseudonym for Plautius, who by this device was enabled to address to himself a dedication in terms of the most complimentary sort.

Knowledge of the memorable expedition of De Soto derives primarily from the *Relaçam* of the Gentleman of Elvas. One of the most interesting pieces in the rich Lenox collection of Americana in the New York Public Library is a copy of this book in the original edition, Evora, 1557. We have a photostat copy of the original from the example in the British Museum and a copy of the translation made of it by Richard Hakluyt in 1609 under the "home consumption" title, *Virginia richly valued, by the description of the maine land of Florida, her next neighbour*. Reissued in 1611 as *The Worthye and famous History of the Travailles, Discouery, & Conquest, of that great Continent of Terra Florida*, the narrative was reprinted with that title in 1851 as one of the Hakluyt Society publications. A facsimile of the original with translation by the late James Alexander Robertson was issued in 1932 by the Florida State Historical Society. The valuable contemporary narrative of Luis Hernández de Biedma was not put into print until the nineteenth century, when it appeared in 1841 in Henri Ternaux's *Recueil de Pièces sur la Floride*, volume 20 of his extensive *Voyages, Relations et Mémoires originaux pour servir à l'Histoire de la Découverte de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1837-41. It formed an important element also of Buckingham Smith's *Colección de varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida*, of 1857, and was appended to the Hakluyt Society's edition of *The Worthye and famous History* just mentioned. The book of Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Ynca*, of Lisbon, 1605, is another De Soto source, and in the edition of Oviedo's *Historia general* brought out by José Amador de los Ríos in 1851 is to be found the diary of De Soto's secretary and companion, Rodrigo Ranjel. All these sources of information about De Soto's mighty

thrust to the northwestward are found upon our shelves.

It is not feasible to discuss in this survey of our Florida materials the literature of every expedition that set out to explore that land of unfulfilled promise. There is little to be found, anyhow, of printed materials concerning the officially backed ventures of Tristán de Luna and Ángel de Villafañe. But in a manuscript volume entitled *Recopilación de todas las cedulas, Prouissiones, e ynstrucciones, dadas por su Magd . . . tocantes al beneficio . . . de su Real hacienda en esta nueva Spa . . . desde el anno de Mdxxii . . . Recopila, . . . por mdo, de . . . don Martin enriquez Visorrey . . .*, compiled about 1584, is found an important document relating to the Tristán de Luna and Villafañe expeditions. This is an instruction from the King to the Viceroy, Luis de Velasco, making provision for the costs of an expedition to settle Santa Elena in Florida. Dated from Valladolid, December 29, 1557, this royal order, entitled *Sobre los gastos de la florida*, seems to be a new and early source in the history of the Tristán de Luna expedition. It is not printed in Dr. Priestley's *Luna Papers*, where the earliest document mentioned in connection with the expedition is a royal letter of exactly the same date ordering the appointment of a suitable governor for the new colony. As the present whereabouts of that instrument is unknown, this instruction, *Sobre los gastos de la florida*, takes precedence of any other document now available connected with the expedition of Tristán de Luna. In the same *Recopilación* is a viceregal *auto* of Luis de Velasco to the Real Hacienda, dated January 6, 1559, and likewise unrecorded, providing for the payment of those about to go to Florida in the great effort at settlement. That expedition resulted in little for Spain or Florida, but at least it sent Villafañe to

take formal possession for Spain of Santa Elena, now Port Royal, South Carolina, destined to become in later days the northernmost effective settlement of the Spaniard on the coast of North America.

The persistent efforts of the religious orders to Christianize the Indians of Florida found record in contemporary writing. Fray Luis Cancer's courageous enterprise of 1549, and the efforts of several of his successors, are fully recounted in Dávila Padilla's *Historia de la Fundacion*, present here in the editions of Madrid, 1596, and Brussels, 1625, and in the Valladolid edition, published in 1634 with the title *Varia Historia de la Nueva España y Florida*. In that manuscript volume just spoken of, the *Recopilación de todas las cedulas*, is found an order of December 18, 1553, entitled *El Principe [to our officials of New Spain] Sobre el bergantin que fue a la florida*. This document makes sad reading, for it commands that the officials make search for the present whereabouts of the brigantine which, four years earlier, had carried the Dominican martyr, Fray Luis Cancer, upon his fatal mission.

The Settlement Period

We have anticipated the period of Florida settlement by telling in the foregoing section of documents of particular interest in the story of the unsuccessful colonizing expeditions of Tristán de Luna and Ángel de Villafañe. That abortive effort and those of a more successful character which followed it were forced upon the Spanish authorities as measures of self-protection. Jacques Cartier had explored the St. Lawrence in 1535, French fishing stations were increasing in number along the Newfoundland coast, and French marauders were annoying the towns and commerce of the Indies. The

Bahama Channel was the inevitable route from Havana and Vera Cruz to Europe, and the usefulness of Florida to the French as a base of operations against the Spanish shipping following that course was obvious to everyone. And finally, as the commerce of New Spain and the Islands increased, so did the wrecking or battering of ships by the Florida storms grow in amount. A port where ships of war might lie and from which cargoes might be salvaged and merchant vessels given aid or rehabilitation, a combined naval base and coast guard station, became a necessary element in the plans of the imperial administration.

Despite their recognition of the situation the Spanish were anticipated in actual settlement by their French rivals who, in 1562, at the instigation of Coligny, and under the leadership of Jean Ribaut, established a colony of Huguenots at Santa Elena, now Port Royal, South Carolina, where Villafañe had failed to make a settlement the year before. That event, the subsequent removal of the Ribaut colony southward to Fort Caroline on the St. Johns River, the complete destruction of the French hopes in Florida by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the establishment of St. Augustine, the revenge taken by Dominique de Gourges and the Spanish recovery from that swift and effective blow, are all so much a part of common knowledge as to require no recounting here. Contemporary information about the colony and its fate was obtained abroad chiefly through the published accounts of the French. The Library has a particularly fine group of the little books in which the colonists and their friends told the story of their tragic misadventure. It seems worth while to record the titles of this cohesive unit and of one Spanish addition lately made to it. In the list which follows, original copies are entered in italic, facsimiles in roman:

The Whole and true discouerie of Terra Florida. London, 1563.
(A nineteenth-century transcript of the unique printed copy in the British Museum, embodying a translation of Ribaut's account of his first voyage.)

Divers Voyages, by Richard Hakluyt. London, 1582.
(Contains "The true and last discouerie of Florida made by Capitaine John Ribault in the yeere 1562. Dedicated to a great noble man of Fraunce, and translated into Englishe by one Thomas Hackit.", leaves E₂-G_{verso}.)

Copie d'une Lettre venant de la Floride enuoyée à Rouen . . . Paris, 1565.
(With the engraved plan of Fort Caroline at the mouth of the St. Johns River.)

Histoire memorabile du dernier Voyage aux Indes, Lieu appelle la Floride, fait par le Capitaine Iean Ribaut . . . en l'an M.D.LXV. Lyon, 1566.
(The narrative of Nicolas Le Challeux.)

A true and perfect description, of the last voyage . . . attempted by Capitaine Iohn Rybaut . . . into Terra Florida, this yeare past . . . London, [1566].
(A translation into English of the preceding title. Present in the Library in a nineteenth-century transcript and in a photostat facsimile from the original in the British Museum, issued by the Massachusetts Historical Society.)

Requête au Roy, faite en Forme de Complaintes par les femmes vefues, & enfans orphelins, parens & amis de ses subiects, qui ont esté cruellement massacrez par les Espagnols, en la France antartique, nommee la Floride. 1566.
(A photostat copy from the original in the Bibliothèque Méjane, issued by the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the petition for redress.)

Discours de l'Histoire de la Floride, contenant la cruautat des Espagnols . . . Item, une Requête au Roy . . . Dieppe, 1566.
(A reprint of Le Challeux's *Histoire memorabile*, entered above, with the foregoing petition for redress appended.)

Histoire memorabile de la Reprise de l'Isle de la Floride, faictte par les François, sous la conduite du Capitaine Gorgues . . . le 24. & 27. d'Avril . . . 1568.
(The story of the counterstroke by Dominique de Gourges.)

Obra nuevamente compuesta, en la qual se cuenta, la felice victoria que Dios . . . fue servido de dar al Ilustre señor Pedro Melendez . . . contra Iuan Ribao . . . Cöpuesta en verso Castellano, por Bartholome de Flores . . . [Seville, 1571].
(Described more fully below.)

Brief Discours et Histoire d'un voyage de quelques François en la Floride: & du massacre . . . Par M. Urbain Chauveton. Ensemble une Requête presentee au Roy . . . 1579.
(A narrative added to Chauveton's translation (1579) of Benzonii's *Historia del Mondo Nuovo*.)

L'Histoire notable de la Floride . . . contenant les trois voyages . . . descrits par le Capitaine Laudonniere . . . a laquelle a esté adioisté un quatresies voyage fait par le Capitaine Gourges . . . Par M. Basanier . . . Paris, 1586.

Brevis Narratio eorum quae in Florida . . . acciderunt . . . duce Renato de Laudonniere anno MDLXIII. . . . auctore Iacobo le Moyne . . . Francofurti ad Moenum . . . impensis Theodoril de Bry. 1591.—Same. (In German), 1591. Same. (In German), 1603.

Though it has not the interest of great rarity and was published nearly thirty years after the events described, it is probable that of this group of titles the Le Moyne narrative in the De Bry series of American voyages is the most informative and the most satisfactory to the student. It is the story of a participant in the events described who happened also to be a reflective and intelligent observer, able to reinforce the written word by pictorial illustration. Its account of the French colony and its misfortunes, its map of Florida, and its splendidly engraved illustrations of Indian life and customs, with appended notes, makes the book in both the Latin and German editions a Florida work of high interest. Lescarbot's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* of 1609 is a historian's synthesis of the earlier materials on the Ribaut colony, and in its edition of 1618 is included a map of the settlements and the surrounding country which supplements the story of the events of the period 1564 to 1568.

For some reason the news of the conflict in Florida was not fully reported through the press in Spain or Mexico, though there exists documentary material in plenty bearing upon it in the form of letters sent the King by Menéndez. The best account of the events appeared nearly two centuries later in Barcia's *Ensayo*, published in 1723. But the incidents of the campaign made talk at home and abroad, in Spain and Mexico, as well as in France. A half dozen years after the Menéndez victory a somewhat cynical rejoinder to a remark about the obvious favor of God shown the Spaniards in the Menéndez victory was brought out in evidence against one Juan Ortiz, a French resident of Mexico City on trial for heresy before the Inquisition. Such news sheets as were issued there and in Spain to announce the victory were probably read out of existence, for no record of them

remains. The earliest separately printed Spanish account of the conflict, and the only one of the sixteenth century that we know of, is the poem of 1571 entered in the foregoing list. The *Obra nueuamente compuesta* of Bartolomé de Flores comprises 375 lines in verse which has the authentic ring of the epic stuff, the genuine fervor of a Spaniard celebrating an event which, for the time being, had settled the question of supremacy in Florida and established there the town and fort of St. Augustine, at that moment the "farthest north" outpost of the Spanish empire in America.

But to recount the destruction of the French colony was not the only purpose of our poem. Bartolomé de Flores wrote with the future of the land as well as its past in mind. Finishing his account of the battle, he goes on for the whole second half of the poem with a description of the country and its inhabitants in language that suggests the colonization literature of later periods. When this realization confronts us, we recall that the interest in Florida of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés was not confined to its military protection against the French. Florida was his personal land of promise; by royal appointment he was its *adelantado*, and by natural proclivity its administrator and colonizer. In the course of his connection with the land, he founded St. Augustine, reestablished Santa Elena, and made plain the way for the creation of those mission stations which, with St. Augustine, remained for some two hundred years the chief evidence of Spanish occupancy. In his last letter from Spain, written to his nephew in Florida on September 7, 1574, he says that he has "ready a great number of farmers in this home land . . . very suitable for the settlements we have at present in Florida . . .". Returning to the year 1571 when the Flores poem was published, we find in Mrs.

Connor's *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés* the specific assertion that by royal cedula of March 5th, of that year, he was given permission to recruit one hundred farmers for settlement in Florida. In view of these circumstances, it seems not unreasonable to think of the Flores poem as a promotion tract designed to forward the colonization plans of Menéndez, the soldier and practical administrator who had dismissed from calculation the Fountain of Youth and the mines of another Peru and envisioned Florida as a land of farms and agricultural bounty. We know nothing of the author besides his name and the fact that he was a "natural de Malaga y vezino de Cordova". One of the ghosts of early Florida history is the man surnamed Flores, Christian name not recorded, who in 1566 accompanied Father Pedro Martinez to Florida and witnessed the martyrdom of that zealous and headstrong priest. He seems never again to appear in the story of the country. One asks whether our Bartolomé de Flores could have been this visitor to Florida of five years earlier. The copy of the Flores poem in the Library is the José Toribio Medina-Henry R. Wagner-Herschel V. Jones copy, described and textually reprinted by Medina under No. 215 of his *Biblioteca Hispano-Americanica*.

These events of which we have been writing were of high importance in world history. Out of them came three definite things: the first permanent European settlement in what is now the United States; the saving for Spain of the strategic Bahama passage for the plate fleet and other shipping; and the inhibiting of a movement which, left unchecked, would doubtless have meant French domination of the Atlantic coast from the tip of Florida to Labrador. There came also in the train of these events in distant Florida certain political

consequences in Europe and an effect upon the general Huguenot cause that offers matter for conjecture. These results of the struggle in which Menéndez, Ribaut, and Laudonnière were the protagonists, justify the space given the books in which the story is told. The printed records of an event are the tangible evidence of its importance in the contemporary mind.

The Quiet Years

For something like a century after Gourgues avenged the defeat and massacre of Ribaut's colony by a slaughter as merciless as that of Menéndez, the story of Florida, so far as events of general interest are concerned, is all but featureless. The destructive raid of Drake upon St. Augustine in 1586 is one of the exceptions to this generalization, but between that event and the coming of the English to Carolina and the French to Louisiana in the second half of the seventeenth century, Florida was unremembered by the world. Its home government never took fire from the enthusiasm of Menéndez for colonization, so that the large plans of the *adelantado* for the creation of an agricultural province came virtually to nothing. So long as the military outpost of St. Augustine was maintained, the Council of the Indies was satisfied. But there was no neglect on the part of the Church; though the Dominicans and the Jesuits made little progress in their efforts at Christianization, the Franciscans could boast of real success. In the closing decade of the sixteenth century, Florida became what it remained throughout the next century, the seat of a military and naval stronghold and a system of mission stations clustered about Guale in the north, Apalache to the west, and Timuqua in the neighborhood of St. Augustine. When the English came to Carolina after the middle

of the seventeenth century, there were in those districts some thirty-five mission stations. In his *Southern Frontier*, Verner W. Crane says that these missions "survived until the Spanish Indian system, based upon religion and agriculture, came into fatal collision with the English system, based solely upon trade."

But though official Spain seemed to have forgot the existence of Florida in the seventeenth century, its awareness of the workaday importance of St. Augustine as its northern outpost was never completely out of mind. In books of administrative interest, such as the *Memorial Informatorio* which Juan Diez de la Calle addressed to the King in 1645, and the same author's *Memorial, y Noticias sacras, y reales del Imperio de las Indias Occidentales*, of 1646, are statements of the personnel and cost of maintenance of the Florida establishment. In a manuscript codex of the Royal Hacienda of Mexico, owned by the Library, in a section entitled *Planta de las Dotaciones anuales de los pressidios interiores de los Reynos de Nueva España, Viscaya, Galicia y Nuevo Mexico*, we find similar information recorded for the year 1697.

The record of this period of quiet is found, for the early part, in the general history of Garcilaso de la Vega and in the Franciscan Chronicle, the *Historia de la Fundacion* of Dávila Padilla. A Jesuit work of strong Spanish Southwest interest, the *Historia de los Triunfos . . . entre Gentes . . . del nuevo Orbe*, of Andrés Pérez de Ribas, 1645, devotes several chapters to the nine worthies of that order who found martyrdom in Florida in 1566. A recent work by Fr. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S. J., *Los Mártires de la Florida, 1566-1572*, Lima, 1940, provides important manuscript addenda to this story. It is worth while mentioning here that our general resources on Jesuit activities are particu-

larly strong, comprising among other collections a moderately full set of the *Annuae Litterae*, running with breaks from 1581 to 1652; the *Lettres Edifiantes* in a set comprising editions of 1726, 1771, 1780-1783; Tanner's *Societas Jesu*, Prague, 1675, and, in German, Prague, 1683; and Nieremberg's *Varones de la Compañía de Jesús*, and its continuations, Madrid, 1643-1736. In the bibliography of Florida materials prefixed to Barcia's *Ensayo* are mentioned the series of Jesuit Relations from New France and one of the works of the same tenor that preceded the regular series, the *Lettre du Père Charles L'Allemand*, 1627. The Library owns a remarkably full set of the Relations as well as a copy of the rare Lallemant letter.

Returning to works of a more general character, we find that the period as a whole is treated in that admirable Florida book, the *Ensayo Cronológico*, brought out in 1723 by Andrés González de Barcia under the pseudonym Don Gabriel de Cárdenas y Cano. The *Ensayo* is, perhaps, the most comprehensive single record of Floridian history, the sole work, indeed, that carries the story through the quiet period of the seventeenth century and leaves it only when the land had become the scene once more of international rivalries, and, therefore, the subject of wider discussion and concern. It has the further interest of being prefaced by a commentary upon the sources, printed and manuscript, from which the author had drawn his material. Many of the manuscript documents he mentions have since disappeared, and many of his printed sources are found today with difficulty after search through the libraries of the world. Some of the least known of these printed pieces we are able to mention in the course of the present account of Florida materials in the John Carter Brown Library. But despite the esteem in which

Barcia's work is held today, it is only fair to mention that we have in the Library a contemporary criticism of his book in the treatise of a rival historian, the *Crisis del Ensayo a la Historia de la Florida*, published anonymously in 1725. This work is attributed in a contemporary inscription in our copy to Don Luis de Salazar, though the name of the author is recorded by Sabin as Joseph de Salazar.

The story told by Barcia is supplemented in brief passages in books of a general character. The history of the missions, for example, comes in for mention in some of the writings in that long controversy as to whether the control of the American mission centers, or *doctrinas*, should be assumed by the secular clergy or remain in the hands of the religious orders, through whose zeal they had been established. The chief protagonist of the secular clergy in this struggle was the Bishop of the Mexican diocese of Puebla de los Angeles, Juan de Palafox y Mendoza. This celebrated ecclesiastic is not numbered today among the saints of the Roman calendar because his process of canonization has always been opposed by the religious orders, continuously resentful of his fight against their influence in America. A chief opponent of his policy was Francisco de Ayeta, spokesman for the Franciscans in this bitter quarrel. Elements of general interest in this story of the missions are found in Ayeta's large works *Defensa de la Verdad* and *Crisol de la Verdad*. Certain more specific memorials which he wrote on this and related subjects, or which were directed against him, contain matter of Florida interest more direct in character. Among these is the memorial beginning *Señor. Fray Francisco de Ayeta . . . dize, que el Virrey de la Nueva España*. At about the same time appeared *Señor. El Bachiller Don Juan Ferro Machado, . . .*

Obispado de Cuba, Visitador General de las Provincias de la Florida. Sobre. La Visita de ellas . . . which was replied to by Ayeta, who did not like bishops, in a long memorial entitled *Señor. Al mas modesto. . . .* Ayeta was one of those individuals in whose books dates of publication are almost never given. The works which have been mentioned were brought out, we learn from other evidence, in the decade 1690-1700. "It must be confessed", wrote Beristain, "that our Ayeta wielded a ferocious pen."

It is from works of this fugitive character, adding to the information conveyed by Barcia, that the history of the missions is to be recovered, that story of triumphs and setbacks encountered in the efforts of the fathers to bring the Indian into the fold of industrial man. One of the most learned and most devoted of the Franciscans was Fray Francisco Pareja, who, returning from many years of service in Florida, published in Mexico City in 1612, a *Cathecismo, en Lengua Castellana, y Timuquana*, and, in 1613, a *Confessionario en lengua Castellana, y Timuquana*. These works are evidences of Pareja's zealous and intelligent effort in his mission. They have given us a learned treatment of the language of a race that has disappeared from the earth, and, as frequently happens in linguistic works, have preserved for us a deal of anthropological information. A copy of the *Confessionario* is in the Library in the original edition of Mexico, 1613. The works of Pareja are mentioned in the *Handbook of American Indians* as prime sources of knowledge of the Timuquans along with the Le Moyne narrative in the *De Bry Voyages* and the narrative of the shipwrecked Quaker, Jonathan Dickenson. *God's Protecting Providence*, the book in which Dickenson related his experiences, is present in the Library in the

editions of London, 1700, 1720, [1759], Leyden, [1707] and 1707, The Hague, 1727, and Frankfort, 1774. There is here also a photostat copy of the first edition of the work, published in Philadelphia in 1699.

The Huguenot menace recurred more than once in the history of Florida in the form of unfulfilled threats of settlement. It is difficult to say how seriously the *Histoire naturelle et morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amerique . . .* of Charles de Rochefort, first published at Rotterdam in 1658, may be regarded as a work intended to induce Huguenot emigration to Florida. It gives a full description of the Caribbean islands and devotes many pages to an account of "Apalache" but this portion of the work is of such a character as to suggest for it the designation, "extraordinary voyage", that is, a travel narrative in which a fanciful structure is uncomfortably erected upon a basis of uncertain fact. Appalachia had existence, we know, but the country described by Charles de Rochefort in 1658 was that mythical region which de Soto had gone to seek in 1539, a country with a capital city of great architectural magnificence, inhabited by an urbane race of natives. The religious ideas of these people, according to our author, had been considerably affected by the coming among them of good Protestant people, first, of Huguenots escaped from the Menéndez massacre of 1565, and later, of a group of English colonists of Virginia who, escaping by ship the Indian onslaught upon Jamestown in 1622, had been cast away upon the shores of Florida and had painfully made their way into the interior, where, in Appalachia, they and their children were enjoying an idyllic life after stress and storm. If nothing else the Rochefort story of Appalachia is ingenious, and one would like to know about those refugees from Virginia and to account

for other specific references to an English colony in that country. The author was minister of a Huguenot church in Amsterdam, but if his book was intended to promote a colony made up of his co-religionists, he must have been gravely disappointed. The Spanish did not have to worry about another Protestant invasion of occupied Florida territory until Daniel Coxe, a good many years later, in 1698, proposed a settlement of Huguenots within his grant of Carolana, which included the Appalachian area. In the meantime, however, they must have read thoughtfully of the Huguenot settlements proposed to be made in South Carolina about the year 1685. There are in the Library a *Plan pour former un Establissement en Caroline . . .* and a *Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline par un Gentil-homme François . . .* printed in The Hague in 1686 and [c. 1685-86], respectively. The second of these, the *Nouvelle Relation*, is one of those all but unknown writings which Barcia entered in the bibliography of Florida prefixed to his *Ensayo Cronologico* of 1723. The first of them, the *Plan*, is not recorded as existing in any other library.

English and French Activities

The history of Florida in the last half of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth is properly studied as a phase of English effort, through South Carolina and Georgia, to gain the fur trade of the Southeast, and of the rivalry to both English and Spanish set up by the French in Louisiana consequent upon La Salle's expedition of 1684 to the mouth of the Mississippi. The Spanish in Florida were so placed between the two aggressive neighbors that any idea of their further expansion had to be given up. Even before the coming of the English, they had been driven from their northernmost outpost of Santa Elena by the

Indians; thereafter the holding of their position as guardians of the Bahama Passage became their chief concern. The direction of future events is shown by two pamphlets of the period: William Hilton's *Relation of a Discovery lately made on the Coast of Florida*, 1664, sometimes described as the first Carolina tract, and the *Discoveries of John Lederer, in three several Marches from Virginia, to the West of Carolina*, London, 1672, a book of interest in Florida history because it describes an exploration similar to those which, under Henry Woodward of Carolina, were setting the English upon their way to a penetration of the Southeast.

This interrelation of destinies brings it about that the early Carolina tracts are part of the Florida bibliography also. In connection with a facsimile and translation, now ready for publication, of the *Nouvelle Relation de la Caroline*, referred to earlier, Dr. Hope Frances Kane has compiled a bibliography of Carolina promotion tracts involving the entry of sixteen separately issued titles in the period 1664 to 1699. Eleven of the sixteen are in the Library. In addition to the Hilton and Lederer narratives, the *Nouvelle Relation*, and the *Plan pour former un Establissement*, which have already been mentioned, there are to be noticed as especially interesting the following three titles:

A Brief Description of The Province of Carolina
On the Coasts of Floreda . . . Together with A
most accurate Map of the whole Province. Lon-
don, 1666.

A true Description of Carolina. London, [1682].
F., R. The Present State of Carolina with Advice
to the Setlers., London, 1682.

If the Spanish imperial officials had been of the stuff of their great-grandfathers, these aggressive

pronouncements of English intentions would have been recognized by them as dangerous. In all probability the Spanish authorities, whether at home, in Mexico, or in Florida, were completely deaf also to the implications of the Jolliet and Marquette discovery of the upper Mississippi in 1673. But if they heard of it, that successful exploration must have seemed, even in its potentialities, a very small cloud on the horizon. When they were able to read of it, however, in Thévenot's *Recueil de Voyages*, of Paris, 1681, and to look at the map of the river in that book which the expedition, plus general assumption, made possible, they must have felt that large destinies would soon be in conflict. Certainly they would have felt so if they could have seen Jolliet's manuscript map, the *Nouvelle Decouverte de plusieurs Nations dans la Nouvelle France en l'année 1673 et 1674*, or the Hugues Randin manuscript *Carte de l'Amerique Septentrionale* of about 1678, two of the Library's choicest cartographical possessions, with their depiction of the Mississippi in relation to the rest of North America. From these several documents they would have realized that France might some day be in a position to threaten Florida by the west as well as by the east. This became certainty when in April, 1682, the Sieur de La Salle reached the Gulf by way of the Mississippi, claimed the entire Mississippi Valley for France, and named that vast area Louisiana. The momentous expedition of La Salle is found most fully recounted in the nineteenth-century collection by Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 1614-1698*, but in addition to this work the Library has Tonti's *Dernières Découvertes dans l'Amérique Septentrionale de M. de la Sale of 1697*, and Le Clercq's *Etablissement de la Foy*, Paris, 1691, with the map

of that year. An early printed account of Saint Louis, the unfortunate settlement La Salle made in Texas in 1685, is found in a work by Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, the *Trofeo de la Justicia Española*, printed in Mexico in 1691. The government in Mexico was by that time awake to the French menace. Hennepin is an important source for the La Salle adventure, and La Hontan carries on the story for Iberville and the Biloxi settlement.

It is not necessary to mention editions of Hennepin and La Hontan in detail. A checking of the bibliographies of these two writers compiled by Victor Hugo Paltsits shows that virtually every one of their editions in various European languages is present in the collection. Once more it is completeness, rather than the possession of individual rarities that we emphasize as an important characteristic of our collections.

But we have, it happens, a group of manuscript materials which provide a fresh contribution from the Spanish side of the beginning struggle. The *Hispanic American Historical Review* of November, 1936, contains a calendar by Father Damian Van den Eynde of three volumes of American manuscripts purchased by us at the Sir Thomas Phillips sale, held at Sotheby's on June 24-27, 1919. Ten of these documents are official Spanish papers relating to the conflicting interests of Spain, France, and England in West Florida, particularly as concerns the settlement of Pensacola. The titles of the more important of these documents are as follows:

Apuntamiento de las prouidencias que S. M. à mandado dar para el desalojo de escoceses del Darien . . . 1699. [Summary of provisions ordered by the king to dislodge the Scotch from Darien, Madrid, 30 October, 1699.] Interesting for the date of the founding of Pensacola.

Desde que tome posecion del Govierno . . . [Anonymous document without title or date, but identified as the report of the

Duque de Linares, 1717. Sections 12-14 discuss the Barlovento fleet and its usefulness in the defence of Pensacola.]

Exmo Sr Para que exponga mi parecer en razon de si sera conveniente mantener el Presidio dela punta de siguenza alias, Panzacola, . . . [Copy made May 29, 1744 of a report concerning the advisability of maintaining the presidio of Pensacola or Punta de Sigüenza. Mexico, 29 May, 1744.]

Extracto del estado de este Reyno y Provincias de la Na España . . . [Report of the Duque de Alburquerque, Viceroy of New Spain from 6 October, 1702 to 15 January, 1711, to his successor, the Duque de Linares. Mexico, 27 November, 1710.] Concerns the presidios of Santa Maria de Galve [Pensacola] and St. Augustine. Discusses the difficulty of dislodging the English from Carolina.

Junta sobre la dependenia Le Pasacola y Mi'sl'pl'—echada en 12 de Sepre de 1701. [Junta relating to the negotiations between Spain and France concerning Pensacola and Mississippi. Madrid, 12 September, 1701.]

Memoria de Dittas dela RI Casa deestta Corte, . . . [Expenses incurred on behalf of Pensacola, 1730-1731.]

Mui señor mio. Lacasualidad debauer hallado en el Puerto de la Veracruz . . . [Concerned with the presidio of Pensacola, Florida and the presidio of St. Augustine, the designs of the English and the precarious situation of the Spanish, 1740.]

Rcn delos Gouiernos. Corregimientos. y Alcaldias mayores . . . [Series of lists of public offices and their holders in different provinces of the Indies, 1692-1693.]

Relacion del Estado de la Nueva Espana que hace el Duque de Linares al Exmo. Sor Marqués de Balero . . . [Records information concerning assistance given the presidios in Florida, 1711-1716.]

The presence here of these virtually unknown manuscript sources relating to the conflict of races—Spanish, French, and English—in the Pensacola country gives additional interest to the printed materials we own on the same subject.

The situation brought about by the presence of the French on the Lower Mississippi finds reflection in two printed reports of Mexican publication by the celebrated Spanish-American man of letters, Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora. His *Trofeo de la Justicia Española* already mentioned, was issued in Mexico in 1691; his *Descripcion, que de la Vaia de Santa Maria de Galve (antes Pansacola) de la Movila, y Rio de la Paliçada, en la Costa Septentrional del seno Mexicano* was submitted to the viceroy, the Conde de Galve, in 1693, though in all

likelihood published some years later. A manuscript copy of the same writer's *Relacion de lo sucedido á la Armada de Barlovento*, published in Mexico in 1691, is bound with our copy of the *Trofeo*. These three contemporary works are described in Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, Nos. 62 and 62b. The *Trofeo* is also found in this country in the Library of Congress and in the Genaro Garcia collection in the University of Texas Library; the *Descripcion* is not recorded as in existence elsewhere. This is the printed form of the document in which Sigüenza y Góngora records the surveys he made as official engineer of the exploration of the coast conducted in 1693 by Admiral Pez. A translation has been made from a manuscript in Sigüenza's hand and published as the *pièce de résistance* in Dr. Irving A. Leonard's illuminating work, the *Spanish Approach to Pensacola, 1689-1693*, published in 1939 by the Quivira Society.

The Eighteenth Century

There is no strictly drawn line of division between the Florida of the closing years of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth centuries. Spain's policy was still, virtually throughout the period, to hold on to what it possessed in the face of French and English rivalry.

Actual conflict between the English in Carolina and the Spanish in Florida occurred in Queen Anne's War, described as the American phase of the War of the Spanish Succession. In 1702 Colonel James Moore, governor of South Carolina, led against St. Augustine an expedition which returned somewhat ingloriously to Charleston, having done little but burn the civilian town and give the defenders of the fort a good fright. A Spanish account of that expedition was published in Madrid in 1703, in the form of a news sheet in our posses-

sion entitled *Primera, y breve Relacion de las favorables noticias que . . . se han tenido por cartas de Don Luis de Zuñiga, Governador de la Florida. . . .* We are not aware of any similar account of the Colonel's second expedition of 1704, which, more successful than the first, resulted in the destruction of the Appalachia mission and the beginning of the end for the Florida Indian.

About the year 1717 certain schemes of development were designed to bring the English closer than ever to the northern Florida border, though actually at that time the plans of the aggressive neighbor failed of success. In that year the proprietors of South Carolina, feeling themselves to be land poor, and anxious to set up a buffer state between their colony and the French to the west as well as the Spanish in the Florida peninsula, transferred to Sir Robert Montgomery a great tract of land between the Savannah and the Altamaha, naming it, splendidly, the Margravate of Azilia. The Library has the two issues of Sir Robert's *Discourse Concerning the design'd Establishment of a New Colony to the South of Carolina*, and a copy, not recorded elsewhere, of his *Proposal for Raising a Stock, and Settling a New Colony in Azilia*, all of the year 1717. Three years later came from his hand, or from the hand of an associate, *A Description of the Golden Islands* and *An Account of . . . a Settlement on the Golden Islands*. These titles on the Montgomery project are important in the story of American colonization inasmuch as they are associated with the broad subject of English imperial policy. They forecast the establishment of Georgia and the actual settlement by the English of the country which had been the frontier of the Spanish power on the Atlantic coast of North America, the no-man's land protecting it on the north. The Montgomery projects came to

nothing because of the ruin brought about by the collapse of the South Sea Company, but their fruition in another form was only postponed. The idea of Azilia as a factor in the development of empire was not lost upon Herman Moll, a political-minded cartographer, who in several maps after 1719 laid down the boundaries of the proposed buffer state against the French in Louisiana. One such map in our possession, Moll's *New Map of the North Parts of America claimed by France with ye Adjoining Territories of England and Spain*, published in London in 1720, shows Azilia thrust like a wedge into the vast French territory of Louisiana.

The Florida historian must take cognizance, also, of certain documents relating to French schemes of empire of this period. Almost the first official notice taken of Louisiana by the French government after the settlement at Biloxi found expression in the *Lettres Patentes du Roy, qui permet au Sieur Crozat . . . de faire seul le Commerce dans toutes les Terres possédées par le Roy, & bornées par le Nouveau Mexique & autres*, 1712. This vast monopoly and the subsequent operations begun under its terms by Crozat's governor, De la Motte Cadillac, alarmed the English as well as the Spaniards. It was translated into English and made part of the *Letter to a Member of the P—T of G—T-B—N, Occasion'd by the Priviledge granted by the French King to Mr. Crozat*, London, 1713. As a matter of fact neither rival suffered greatly from Crozat. In 1717 that ambitious gentleman was forced through financial exhaustion to surrender his patent to the King, who in August of that year gave to John Law *Lettres patentes . . . portant établissement d'une Compagnie de Commerce, sous le Nom de Compagnie d'Occident ou la Louisianne*. This document marks the official

beginning of those financial operations which eventuated in the Mississippi Bubble. We have in English the *Memoirs of the Great Mr. Law*, 1721, and James Smith's *Some Considerations on the Consequences of the French Settling Colonies on the Mississippi*, of the year 1720. The *Memoirs of John Ker, of Kersland Esq.*, printed in London in 1726, contains with only a few verbal changes a complete reprint of the second of these, accompanied by a reissue of its "New Map of Louisiana and the River Mississippi". We need name no more of the titles of this group. Those already mentioned are an assurance that the Library has interesting materials on the subject of the Louisiana projects of the French with their threat to Spain in Florida and elsewhere in North America.

We resume the story of the English-Spanish conflict for supremacy on the "southern frontier", by mentioning a few tracts that relate to the Oglethorpe expedition of 1740 against St. Augustine and the counterattack of the Spanish in 1742. As a gauge of the importance of this conflict it should be said that at this time the Spanish outpost of St. Augustine was to the inhabitants of South Carolina and Georgia what the French fortress of Louisburg stood for in the eyes of New Englanders, that is, a continuous menace and embarrassment, for by this time the Spanish had learned that aggression was their surest defense. Florida, for so long neglected by the home government, was again become a strategic point in its policy. The joint expedition of South Carolina and Georgia in 1740 was an offensive designed to interrupt the elaborate preparations of Spain for an attack upon the English colonies of the South. Its failure brought about a war of words between the authorities of the two colonies. South Carolina washed her hands of blame for the "Causes of the Dis-

appointment of Success" in the *Report of the Committee of South-Carolina, appointed to Enquire into the late Expedition against St. Augustine, under General Oglethorpe*. The criticism of Oglethorpe by his ally must have seemed a gratuitous attention at the time of first publication of the *Report* in Charleston in 1742, for two months earlier, in July, 1742, the Georgia leader had effectively defeated the Spanish counterattack and saved both colonies from destruction. The Library does not own the original Charleston edition of the *Report*, known to exist only in the copy in the New York Public Library, but it has the edition of London, 1743, and the separately printed *Appendix to the Report of the Committee of South Carolina* containing documents and affidavits, of the same place and year. Other pamphlets in the controversy, informative as to the issues involved, are, on the South Carolina side, *An Impartial Account of the late Expedition against St. Augustine*, London, 1742, and the *Full Reply to Lieut. Cadogan's Spanish Hireling, &c. and Lieut. Mackay's Letter, . . . Wherein the Impartial Account of the late Expedition to St. Augustine is clearly vindicated . . .* London, 1743; in support of Oglethorpe are *A Letter from Lieut. Hugh Mackay*, 1742, and George Cadogan's *Spanish Hireling Detected*, 1743. The observations of an officer in the campaign are found in Edward Kimber's *Relation, or Journal, of a late Expedition to the Gates of St. Augustine*, 1744.

A certain amount of background for study of the Florida-Georgia relations is found in William Stephens's *Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia, beginning October 20, 1737*, published in 1742, present here in a copy containing the rare third volume; in Patrick Tailfer's *True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America*, 1741; and in

A Brief Account of the Causes that have retarded the Progress of Georgia, 1743. All three of these books are represented in the Library in copies formerly owned by John Percival, Earl of Egmont, one of the chief promoters of Georgia. In the second and third are extensive manuscript notes in Egmont's hand. Few of the titles just named are of excessive rarity; in listing them it is our intention once more to call attention to the fullness of our resources on the great and small issues of Florida history rather than to emphasize too persistently the unusually rare items. The struggle between the colonies and Spanish Florida in the period 1740-1742 may be regarded in the large as an element in that conflict between England and Spain remembered as the War of Jenkins' Ear, a war begun when the captain of a Spanish patrol boat cut off the ear of Robert Jenkins, an English sea captain, interrupted off the Florida coast in the course of a smuggling expedition. That war, in turn, was an element in the larger considerations of the War of the Austrian Succession. There is in the Library a large collection of the pamphlet literature which these complex events in European politics brought into being.

It has been said above that Spain was once more awake, after nearly two centuries of forgetfulness, to the strategic importance of Florida. The Library has evidences of this renewal of interest in the form of two government publications, handsomely issued in Mexico in 1753. These are their self-explanatory titles: *Reglamento para la Guarnicion de la Habana, Castillos, y Fuertes de su Jurisdiccion, Santiago de Cuba, San Augustin de la Florida, y su Anexo San Marcos de Apalache* and the more specific *Reglamento para las peculiares Obligaciones de el Presidio de San Augustin de la Florida*.

The question of the cession of Florida to England as the result of the French and Indian War was one of the elements in the pamphlet controversy that arose in the preliminary discussion of the terms of the Peace of 1763. That battle of the publicists began with the fall of Quebec in 1759 and was still in an active state for a year or more after the complicated issues had been determined by the Treaty. One of the most remarkable single collections in the Library is the group of one hundred and twenty pamphlets, chiefly of English origin, published in connection with this controversy, and because Florida was one of the pawns on the board of the peace commissioners, and because out of their action grew the English provinces of East and West Florida, this collection has importance in the study of the history of that country. Appended to Clarence W. Alvord's *Mississippi Valley in British Politics* is a bibliography of pamphlet material relating to the Peace of 1763, compiled largely from this unusual group on the shelves of the John Carter Brown Library. Since the publication of that book in 1917, we have added continuously to our section of writings on the Peace. It is probable that this collection offers material available nowhere else in such quantity for investigation of the background of Florida's part in the world politics of the late eighteenth century.

Recognition of Florida's importance to the English interest brought forth a book about the country almost before commissioners had finished signing the treaty. Though *An Account of the First Discovery and Natural History of Florida* was written by William Roberts in 1763 with imperial politics in view, the book served to give Englishmen definite notions of the early history and the geography of the country. With its map of the

two provinces and its plans of five towns and harbors by Thomas Jefferys the mapping of Florida assumed the scientific character of modern cartographical practice.

Almost the earliest Florida tract under the English occupation was controversial in character. *An Appeal to the Public in Behalf of George Johnstone, Esq; Governor of West Florida, 1763*, is a reply to attacks made upon the first English governor of West Florida before he had even taken over his duties. Disaffection pursued him, we are told by Bernard Romans, to the detriment of the colony.

Hardly had the cession of Florida been completed when the British began to make plans for its development. One of these of peculiar interest was presented to the world in the form of a printed piece of two leaves entitled, *Proposal for Peopling his Majesty's Southern Colonies on the Continent of America*. This promotion tract is signed "Archibald Menzies" and dated "Megerny Castle, Perthshire, 23d October 1763". The Menzies proposal was that the country be settled by colonies of Greeks, Armenians, and Minorcans—southern Europeans, and Levantines, who had been bred to cultivation of the vine and the olive, and were adaptable to the growing of cotton and the manufacture of silk. We must leave this project where we found it, very much in the air, indeed, unless it can be connected with the actual settlement of Greeks, Italians, and Minorcans which Dr. Andrew Turnbull established four or five years later at New Smyrna. In that case the Menzies proposal takes on greater significance. Both Turnbull and Menzies were Scots, and if this Archibald Menzies was the physician of that name who accompanied the Vancouver expedition of 1796 as field naturalist, both were physicians. If there was an association between them, and the opportunity to discover

it is open to any contender, the history of New Smyrna might be carried back five years earlier than the date of beginning customarily assigned it.

The mention of Dr. Turnbull brings to mind inevitably the name of Bernard Romans and his *Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, New York, 1775. That work by the Swiss engineer, full of interest on many counts, provided what seemed to be damning evidence against the proprietor of the colony of New Smyrna. The editor of the *Columbian Magazine* of Philadelphia extracted from the *Concise History* Romans's account of the New Smyrna colony for publication in his issue of August, 1788. In the issue of December, 1788, Dr. Turnbull, writing from Charleston, defends himself against the Romans charges. In searching out this interchange in the *Columbian Magazine*, by the way, we find that in it for several months in 1787 and 1788, various individuals engaged in a long and learned discussion of the question proposed by Franklin as to whether the mounds in the Ohio county and elsewhere in that neighborhood were fortifications erected by De Soto, probably one of the earliest archeological discussions on an American topic. Returning to Romans, it may be by the way to say that we have a copy of *A General Map of the Southern British Colonies, in America*, taken in part from Romans's data, and though the interest is only that of personal association with a Florida figure, we add that we have nearly all the maps of other sections of the United States drawn and published by this active writer, translator, and cartographer before he disappeared from record in 1783.

The relationship between Romans's *Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* and his great charts of the Florida waters, preserved in the Library of Congress and familiarized through

the reproduction brought out in 1924 by the Florida State Historical Society, is clarified somewhat by an examination of the author's pre-publication advertising in newspapers and broadsides. In a broadside headed *Philadelphia, August 5, 1773. Proposals for printing by subscription, Three Very Elegant and Large Maps of the Navigation, to, and in, the new ceded Countries*, our aggressive engineer asked subscribers to his project of issuing three charts of the coastal waters of East and West Florida, and of a book of description and of sailing directions intended to be used in elucidation of the charts; that is, the *Concise Natural History*. Forgotten details connected with the production of the charts and their publication, finally effected in 1775, are found in the *Proposals*, which, though the earliest Romans writing to appear in print, is not recorded in the bibliography appended to P. Lee Phillips' *Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans*, issued in 1924 by the Florida State Historical Society.

In 1775, the same year that Romans's *Concise Natural History* appeared in New York, a work of direct Florida interest was published in London by James Adair, a learned trader in the southeast territory in the period 1735-1769. *The History of the American Indians; particularly those nations adjoining to the Mississippi, East and West Florida* is a substantial work devoted to the thesis that the American Indian was descended from the ancient Jew. In his development of that thesis, however, Adair put on record so much personal observation and so much knowledge acquired by study that his book has taken rank as a standard source of information on the American Indian. The appendix of the book, furthermore, is a promotion argument, specifically calling for the settlement of an area to the east of the Mississippi country

to be named Georgiana, in which the Floridas come in for much discussion.

Other scientific figures associated with the story of Florida in the eighteenth century were Mark Catesby, John and William Bartram, George Gauld, and William Gerard de Brahm. Of that magnificent work, Catesby's *Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands*, the Library has the first (1731-1743) and third (1771) editions. John Bartram is represented by his journal in William Stork's *Description of East-Florida* (in the third edition of 1769 with the map of *East Florida from Surveys made since the last Peace*, by Thomas Jefferys), and William Bartram by a copy of his *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida*, in the edition of Philadelphia, 1791, and in seven others in English, French, Dutch, and German. An *Account of the Surveys of Florida* by George Gauld, 1790, is another evidence of the general interest in the charting of waters then becoming of increasing commercial importance. The De Brahm works that pertain directly to Florida are the *Atlantic Pilot*, with a map of the Gulf Stream important in the history of scientific study of that phenomenon, and the translation of this book, the *Recherches faites pour rectifier les Cartes & perfectionner la Navigation du Canal de Bahama*. As in the case of Romans we mention, merely because he is a Florida figure, that we have other works of De Brahm, the mystical and, perhaps, slightly crazed student of religious and philosophical thought. Among these are: *Time an Apparition of Eternity*, 1791, and *Apocalyptic Gnomon points out Eternity's Divisibility rated with Time, pointed at by Gnomons Sidereals*, 1795.

Returning to consideration of the colonization projects under the English rule, we find unusual

material in the collection relating to the affairs of Denys Rolle, who in 1764 founded Rollestown on the St. Johns River. It is worth while enumerating this group, for we have been told by a Florida historian that some of the titles in it are unusual. The earliest information concerning it, perhaps, is to be found in William Stork's *Account of East-Florida* of London, 1766, afterwards published as the *Description of East-Florida*, of 1769, mentioned above as containing Bartram's journal and the Jefferys map, upon which, by the way, appears the name "Rollestown". The scheme is laid out in greater detail in *An Extract from the Account of East Florida published by Dr. Stork with the Observations of Denys Rolle with his Proposals*, London, 1766. The seemingly inevitable difficulties of colonization in Florida were related by Rolle in the fullest fashion in a memorial entitled, *To the Right Honorable the Lords of His Majesty's Privy Council*. The *Humble Petition of Denys Rolle, Esq.*, and in a collection of documents, *Copies of his Excellency Governor Grant's Letters, and also Copies of the rough Drafts from which Mr. Rolle's Letters to the Governor were wrote*. The petition and documents represented in these two works were printed in London about the year 1766. The copy of the *Petition* in the Library contains three manuscript sketch maps and plans.

There is also in the Library, relating to the subject of land development in the period of English occupation, 1763-1783, *The Case of Mr. John Gordon with respect to certain Lands in East Florida*, 1772.

The stirring incidents of West Florida history of the later years of the American Revolution, when Spain was acting as an ally of the Americans, center about the person of Bernardo de Gálvez, Captain-General of Louisiana, who carried his help-

fulness to the point of capturing from the British three towns on the east bank of the Mississippi and, later, the Gulf towns of Mobile and Pensacola, thereby ensuring the return of Florida to Spain in the Peace of 1783. The *Diario de las operaciones contra la Plaza de Panzacola* is of the highest importance in this association, containing as it does the leader's own journal of events, the articles of capitulation, and the Spanish casualty list. It has been suggested that this book was printed in Havana in 1781, but we have not found complete data on that point. It was in this operation against Pensacola that Gálvez gained his proud motto "Yo solo" by taking his ship alone past the British batteries when all others had refused to make the attack. The story is told in another work in the Library's collection, the *Poema Epico. La Rendicion de Panzacola y Conquista de la Florida Occidental por el exmº Señor Conde de Galvez*, written by Francisco de Rojas y Rocha. Published in Mexico City in 1785, this narrative of an important event follows, the privilege says, "the scrupulous precepts of the epic". Less directly related to the association of Gálvez with Florida, though very important from the biographical standpoint, is a work in manuscript, entitled *Memoria sucinta de lo operado por Bernardo de Galvez desde 16 de Agosto de 1781*, containing, a brief statement of his activities in those two busy years up to the date of the memorial, Havana, June 30, 1783. Five poetic lamentations at the time of his death in 1786, published in Mexico City and entered as Nos. 7602, 7643, 7653, 7661, and 7714 in Medina's *Imprenta en Mexico* form an unusual group of personal biographical interest.

A manuscript collection owned by the Library of interest in East Florida annals from several points of view is the set of five volumes from the papers

of George Chalmers, historian and man of affairs, whose name is associated prominently with several American colonies and with the historiography of the American Revolution. For many years about the turn of the century, Chalmers acted as colonial agent of the Bahama Islands with the British government, and in these volumes is the correspondence of that period between him and the officials and private individuals of the colony. Such a collection would seem to have little relationship to Florida interests if we did not recall that when England returned that country to Spain in 1783, the American Loyalists who had taken refuge there were compelled to find asylum elsewhere under the British flag. A large number of these uneasy patriots went to the Bahamas, and in the Chalmers correspondence one comes frequently upon traces of them as a group and as individuals. A regular correspondent of Chalmers was John Wells, proprietor of the *Bahama Gazette*. With his brother, Dr. William Charles Wells, this individual, abandoning his Charleston, South Carolina, newspaper and printing office when the Americans entered that town in 1782, fled to St. Augustine and there set up a printing establishment from which issued for about a year in 1783 and 1784 the earliest Florida newspaper, the *East-Florida Gazette*. In addition to the newspaper, the two known imprints of this first press of Florida were Samuel Gale's *Essay II. On the Nature and Principles of Public Credit* and *The Case of the Inhabitants of East-Florida*, both of the year 1784. The second of these is a notable local item in which the distressed Loyalists ask compensation for the lands they were compelled to give up by the re-cession of Florida to Spain. The Library owns one of the three known original copies of *The Case of the Inhabitants*, and it has the London reprint of Gale's

Essay II. The later life of John Wells in the Bahamas provides one of the pleasantest interests of the Chalmers manuscripts.

John Pope's *Tour through the Southern and Western Territories of the United States . . . the Spanish Dominions on the River Mississippi, and the Floridas*, Richmond, Virginia, 1792, introduces us to an unusual figure in the person of Alexander MacGillivray, the Creek leader whose diplomacy was an element in the relations between the Americans of the United States and the weakening Spanish authority. The *Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles, Esquire, Ambassador from the United Nations of Creeks and Cherokees, to the Court of London*, probably by Captain William Baynton, London, 1791, is the story of another remarkable figure in the three-sided contest in which English and Spanish strove for mastery and the Indians strove for existence in the southeast territory of the new union. The failure of the Indians, both as warriors and diplomats, is unhappily manifest when we read and reflect upon a broadside of 1797 entitled *To the Settlers within the Cherokee Boundary*, signed by Lieut. Col. Thomas Butler, commanding the troops of the United States in the State of Tennessee.

This account of Florida materials in the John Carter Brown Library must not be thought of as comprising the whole of the Library's resources in that field. Its omissions are obvious to any instructed student; its inclusions in many instances are those of personal preference. If through it, we have made clear the substantial character of one of the Library's many sections and thereby given potential aid to students of American history, we shall look back upon the task of its preparation as having been one of particular pleasure.

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